/108/

115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with [191] Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has [464] already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to [829] buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano • 156 was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he 554 dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

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115 156 554 [598] Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 286 386 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves; when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 423 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/201 cont./

461 28 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461 574 This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not • 156 overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than [192] about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person, [773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

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461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
●156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

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571 829 155 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwĕčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsméŋga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

● 156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but

461 476 156 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
●156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[478] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[65] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

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In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

/252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, although they are friendly enough with whites. They always advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

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They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing with people.

When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs. They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

The informant went to give treatments to a white patient at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

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754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Neverthe-
●[56] less, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.